1: Burrows--83A (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 231, 152 Ifalik

"Dogs serve mainly as pets and playthings. The play often takes the form of cruel teasing. This may serve as an outlet for pent-up aggression, a matter that belongs in Spiro's analysis of personality."

1: Burrows--125 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 463, 173, 304, 152 Ifalik

"Additional payment to the experts in charge of a job consists mostly of the prestige that goes with authority. A rare instance of a more acquisitive attitude, involving insistence upon material payment, is the conclusion of the myth which tells of the divine origin of tattooing. After the god Wolfat had first taught a few men how to apply the designs, many applied to have their skins decorated. 'But Wolfat told them to put the designs only on those who gave them many fine presents, --cloths, rope, coconut trees, and whatever else they might desire.' Since the sole surviving master-tattooer of Ifalik, who told the tale, had long retired from practise, I could not suspect him individually of adding this as a profitable postscript. Presumably the conclusion was as traditional as the rest of the story. But it does seem to require avarice, which is unusual in Ifalik, of the practitioners of this craft."

"Gifts are expected from the chiefs on certain public occasions. Other men of prominence may also offer them. Commonest of the occasions are religious assemblages, when the gods are invoked in song and dance. Any of the chiefs may walk along in back of the rows of dancers, holding in his right hand, high and away from the body, some small present. A piece of native plug tobacco is the commonest. At this time all the people are seated. Anyone near enough and bold enough may spring up, snatch the gift from the hand of the chief, and return to his seat. Boys are the most eager takers, but older men may spring up too. Women never do. Apparently that much audacity would not be considered becoming to them.

Not all the chiefs take part in this giving. I can recall seeing WolpaitIk only on the receiving end. This is not necessarily a sign of greed. He was the youngest of the chiefs, both in years and in length of service, and may have been more comfortable in the humbler role. Yet the fattest man on the atoll can not be absolved from all suspicion of greed.

Paliuilimar, too, only sat and looked on. Probably that was because of age and weakness, for at other times he was a ready giver. Once when a group of young men were going about the island at night, singing to exorcise an evil spirit, they called on Paliuilimar at his house early in the proceedings. The old chief appeared in the doorway, holding a particularly large piece of the usual plug tobacco. This was a gift to reward the pious endeavors of the young men and their leader Gargeligar, oracle of the high

gods.

Wolpetau, the highest chief, seemed to be the most lavish giver. Once he distributed tobacco among the women at the close of a public meeting held for purposes of government rather than religion. This time he did not hold up the tobacco to be snatched from his hand, but passed among them where they sat and handed it out without requiring them to stand up for it."

1: Burrows--126-127 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 565, 431, 152 Ifalik

"....public giving by commoners, while permitted by custom, is infrequent. It is hard to tell whether this is because few of them have tobacco [127] or similar gifts to spare, or because less generosity is expected of them, or because they would feel it presumptuous to act in such a conspicuous and lordly way. All of those motives may be involved. One of the few who attempted it, in our experience, was Tom, always avid for glory. One of my motion pictures shows him unreeling a gauze bandage, which a young fellow eagerly gathered in. They had no thought of sanitation; presumably the lad planned to decorate his head or arms with strips of the white cloth.

On the surface these are one-way transactions. Yet my impression, which I can not substantiate rigorously, is that in the long run they too are reciprocal. The obligation involved seems to be that expressed in the adage: Noblesse oblige. If that is the case, the consideration for the gifts would be the dignity and authority accorded the chiefs. It is characteristic of the free and easy kind of exchange prevalent in Ifalik that the natives seem to make no connection between the two. To them the high position of the chief is part of the natural order of things. Generous giving, to be sure, is chiefly behavior, part of a chief's expected role. But it seems not to be thought of as payment for the privileges of rank; rather as pure kindness on the chief's part, and pure gain to the people. It is only to a foreign observer that the two seem reciprocal."

"While the chiefs have final decision, there is nothing to prevent any individual from requesting or suggesting a new ruling, or even setting up by some unconventional act a situation which may require one. Again I have one possible example, but no trustworthy evidence as to how novel this situation may have been, beyond the fact that it was unique in our brief experience. As in a good deal of the available evidence about the process of government, our presence was indirectly involved. We were a considerable irritant to the body politic.

Tom was assigned by the chiefs to devote his full time to working for us as interpreter. The activities to which he would have ordinarily devoted this time--helping to feed his household, working on his new canoe--were to be taken over by others. On October 15, Tom went on strike. He announced that he would not work for us that day or the next, but would work on his canoe. His reason was not any objection to us or our tratment of him, but the fact that nobody had been working on his canoe for days. If he had to spend all his time with us, he said, his canoe never would be finished.

Conceivably this was the first strike on Ifalik, although, as already said, there is no evidence as to this. What is certain is that it was the only example in our experience of open defiance of the orders of the chiefs. Tom went so far as to criticize the chiefs for not issuing orders to men to work on the canoe--or not issuing them often enough to keep the men on the job. He showed [142] not only a short temper, as compared with the mildness usual on Ifalik, but also considerable courage.

The response of the chiefs was not to issue a command or decree. Nor did they punish Tom for his temerity. Following the general rule of courtesy, they were quite conciliatory. They reasoned with Tom, and persuaded him to reduce his abstention from work for us to one day. The two junior chiefs, WolpaitIk and Toromann, themselves helped him work on the canoe that day, and several younger men appeared. The work seemed to go somewhat better from then on. In other words, Tom won his strike. But it cost him a good deal of emotional stress. About noon on his day of strike, Spiro found him much disgruntled. Not only had the chiefs disapproved of his conduct, however gently; his wife had scolded him, apparently more emphatically, for deserting us. 'Too much talk', Tom said.

The chiefs' mild policy worked well. The strike was limited to one day, and--what was of great importance on Ifalik--there were no hard feelings. By implication, the chiefs had promulgated a rule of conduct, whether or not it was a new one. They had acknowledged the 'right to strike'."

1: Burrows--147
152

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Treatment of dogs in general is capricious. They are sometimes fondled, sometimes ignored, sometimes teased in ways that seemed to us cruel. This teasing may furnish one outlet for the aggression which, under the general rule of courtesy, can hardly be discharged overtly against human beings."

"A sentiment that in a way counteracts that of rank--at least counteracts any tendency to take advantage of rank by arrogance--is that of kindliness. There is less evidence in the way of formal patterns of behavior to attest the strength of this sentiment than the others. The high value placed on kindliness is probably related to the absence of sorcery, though there is no telling, on the evidence at hand, just what the relationship is.

The particular form of kindliness usually singled out for praise is kindly speech. People are praised for what Tom called 'fine talk'. 'Bad talk' is condemned, and people with a reputation for what we call 'a sharp tongue' are avoided. Or so they say; we never knew an actual instance among this courteous people, who seem to live up to their ideal in this respect amazingly well. Children were sometimes scolded--mostly, so far as I noticed, for a boldness toward us that was considered presumptuous. But the scoldings were mild, as compared with tongue-lashings far from rare in our culture. The only voices I heard raised in serious anger were directed at the psychopath Tarobweliman, whose defiance of the [203] proprieties wore out the patience of his relatives.

People told us repeatedly that they liked us better than the Japanese because of our kindly talk. This was itself a case of the fine talk they value. No doubt there was flattery in it. Yet I think there was truth as well. Naturally our address to them was friendly; a considerable part of our job was to win their confidence and enlist their

help, without which we could never have worked up more than a superficial account of their culture. Besides, it was no strain to talk kindly to these masters of the soft answer.

Fine talk is particularly important in people who are important themselves; most of all in the chiefs. In discussing succession to chieftainship, I once asked Tom if a man who was first in line of succession to a title might be passed over because of undesirable personal qualities. Without stopping to refer the matter to the chiefs--though they were there to be consulted--Tom said oh, yes; if the heir-apparent was given to bad talk, he would never be considered for the title.

Songs in praise of various chiefs extoll their talk more than anything else, referring especially to the formal speeches at public assemblages. Some of the praise is for oratorical skill; a smooth, rich flow of words, 'like coconut oil'. But the main emphasis is on kindliness. More than one of the songs refers to a belief that if the talk of the chiefs is kindly, the people will thrive and live long; if the talk of the chiefs is harsh, the people will perish. How strong this belief is, I have no way of telling; but it accords so well with this sentiment of kindliness, as expressed particularly in speech, that it is pretty surely more than empty words. The positive value in the sentiment of kindliness is the joy of pleasant human relationships. It corresponds to the Thomas-Znaniecki wish for response. That wish is also exemplified in the master-sentiment here mentioned only in passing: that of sexual fulfilment."

1: Burrows--203-204 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 152, 753 Ifalik

"Above all, the people of Ifalik want to keep alive and well. So do we all, no doubt; but this sentiment is more poignant with them than with peoples who have better assurance that this wish will be granted. The wish, in the Thomas-Znaniecki list, is for security. The positive values are life, health, and, as a means to that end, plenty of food. The negative values are famine, sickness, and death. A special aspect of the same wish and the same values has already been noted under the sentiment of seafaring, where death may come by shipwreck or by drifting off the course.

The population has been diminishing, and the people know it. The fear of death comes closer home to those who are taken sick themselves or who have sickness in their own families or households. They know too well how often sickness among them is fatal.

This dominant anxiety is abundantly reflected in their religion. The prayers of visiting chiefs from Yap are thought to ensure, above all, abundance of food. The main reasons for invoking TIIItr, as agent of Aluelap, are to ask for counsel in the treatment of sickness; or to bless the medicine prepared to keep off sickness; or to drive off an evil [204] spirit, whose main purpose is supposed to be to inflict sickness; or to assure abundant food, so that people will be healthy. Some diseases are attributed to possession by evil spirits. Indeed, the evil spirits that haunt their thoughts are essentially personifications of the fear of sickness and death."

1: Burrows--204-205 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 152, 262 Ifalik

"The object of the ritual which only Maroligar can perform is to ensure abundant food. Divination is more often to learn the outcome of sickness, or what evil spirit inflicted it--so that he can be exorcised-- than for anything else.

The high value of food is emphasized in the chiefs' talks to the people. A related value, industry, is prized mainly as a means to abundance of food: 'If you do not work, there will be no food.' The people are exhorted not to steal, --especially not to steal food. They are urged to share--share food especially--with those who lack it, and with the sick.

There is a positive side to the value placed on food. The custom of concluding every communal task, and every ceremony in which all the people take part, with a feast, is evidence of that. The offering to [205] the gods at the beginning of such feasts may be a precaution, but may well have a more positive tone, that of inviting the gods, in token of good will and thankfulness, to share the people's bounty. Tom was fond of saying that Ifalik has plenty of food. So it has, as far as coconuts and pulax go; but the supply of breadfruit depends upon the season, and that of fish is rather scanty."

1: Burrows--205 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 262, 152, 751 Ifalik

"Food and sickness are discussed as parts of the same sentiment, not so much because of the close connection in our minds between nutrition and health, but because the people themselves make such a connection, if not in the same way as we do. Feeding is a favorite treatment in case of sickness. The text of a song of lament says:

He was suddenly taken sick.
I am afraid he is hungry.

A common theme in laments for dead children can be phrased like this: 'Why did he die? I gave him the best of food, so that he would grow big and strong.'

A commonplace in the interpretation of folklore is that it may reflect past rather than present conditions. For example, the setting of our fairy tales is the life of European peasants in the Middle Ages or earlier. It may be that the emphasis on food just brought out reflects an anxiety that was stronger in the past, when the population was larger, than it is now. But there is no indication that the anxiety over sickness has diminished. On the contrary, since greater contact with foreigners has brought new diseases, it seems likely that this anxiety is stronger now than ever. The bright side of the picture is the prospect that the people of Ifalik and the islands round about will increasingly get the benefit of American medical skill. That may well brighten the tone, and relieve some of the tension, of this strongest of their sentiments."

The natives were very cordial and friendly to Sarfert. The attitude of the women was most amusing, whether the men were present or not. By nature they were vivacious, but whenever their husbands were around they scarcely uttered a word. During the exchanges they turned away when they wanted to laugh; but their eyes showed what they were thinking, and the eyes glistened in a sly but quite provocative manner.

When Sarfert was alone with them, they made no secret of the fact that they were all crazy about him. They proved it by their caresses and the dancing movements, which they made; even a white haired old woman tried to allure him, and her zealous efforts aroused much mirth. The women all declared that they simply wanted him to give them tobacco; * and they promised, that they would tell all the white men who came to Ifaluk that he was much nicer in every way than they were.

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* Tobacco has always been a very desirable commodity (Robertson 1876 / 1877 , page 50).

Sarfert noticed that, when they were bartering, [AN: chiefly tobacco] they always had their minds set on one particular object; if they could not get it they usually took their exchange gifts back again. Then they calmly set ridiculous prices on even the tiniest things, which they were offering. If Sarfert became angry, they explained that the white man could produce all these items easily, and he had an adequate supply, while they did not! Lütke and Kittlitz also noticed this selfish attitude, and they had been warned about these islanders by the whalers.

They were astonished at the phonograph, laughed at it, but kept at a safe distance, and tried to peek into the horn. They thought that a man was hidden inside the apparatus!

2: Damm et al. --118 (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 152, 609 Aurupik

From the first, the natives were most cordial and friendly to the white man, and they were glad to talk to Hambruch. Hellwig observes that even the smallest children were not shy, although ships come to the island only at very rare intervals.

4; Krämer--116 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 674, 578, 152 Lamotrek

Murder, limalau, is said never to have happened because hatred and greed are practically nonexistent. On the other hand manslaughter is known when two parties fight each other over some dispute or another.

4: Krämer--202 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 152, 609 Woleai

The Uleai islanders in the past seem to have been rather rough: I learned on Lamotrek that around 1894 an Irishman, Harry Crishom, had been murdered by 4 natives. They shot him in the back and then threw him into the channel of Paliau. Probably in this instance, as in the case of the murder on Oleai, the guilty parties are strangers. For in general, the natives of Oleai have always had a reputation of friendliness and companionship; we ourselves had proof of this characteristic and Tetens also describes it.

5: Kittlitz--152 (1827-8) 1858 Woleaians
116, 152, 437, 609 Ifalik

The population was fairly large, but the natives did not make a very good impression on us; they were selfish in their barter, and attempted to steal on several occasions; this confirmed what we had heard about these little islands from the fishermen on some whalers. There were some unusually large sea-shells, which were in fairly good condition, among the things that were offered to us for trade. Here again [MR: early April] there was not enough to eat, and all the natives wanted to be given food.

5: Kittlitz--155
116, 152, 177, 609

(1827-8) 1858

Woleaians
Woleai

In spite of the abundant supply of the coconut palms, the natives charged high prices for the fruit, which the inhabitants of Lugunor had given us in great quantity. It is true that this food must be highly prized in a land where there is no fresh water, and then too, the denser the population is, the more reluctant the natives are to part with the fruit, which they need themselves. But we missed many other tokens of the cordial hospitality of the Lugunor inhabitants. Although the essential characteristics were the same for both peoples, these natives had developed a much more selfish attitude because of their frequent association with strangers.

6: Senfft--54
116, 152

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

The level of intelligence is not very high. The natives are petty and narrow-minded as well as lazy. They lack the fairness and generosity of the people of Yap. It is only natural, then, that they are not held in very high esteem by the Yap natives.

9: Senfft--14 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
116, 761, 152 Woleai

As depressing as it is to see a gay people surrounded by graves it impressed me as even worse that they do not seem to realize what death is. They speak with laughter about their dead, with laughter did they show me the hopelessly sick and the efforts of the paralyzed man who was painfully trying to get up with the help of two sticks in order to demonstrate the violent trembling of his sturdy body was accompained by the laughter of the people around him. There is no doubt that this blunt attitude towards death is due to the accumulation of misfortune which these people experience.

11: Born--190-191 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
116, 152, 609 Woleai

The Oleai natives are by nature a very friendly and peaceful people. They have never had any wars, and they have no weapons for warfare. It is all the more striking, then, that, after a longer stay with them, one becomes aware of behavior which can only be described as forward, if not impudent. [191] In their relationships with white people they make no attempt to conceal the fact that their only object is to make as great a profit as possible. This is in marked contrast to the charming and sincere behavior of the Jap natives which make all transactions with them pleasant and friendly.

No matter how unimportant the transaction, the native in question never fails to ask mita gatschau (What will you pay?). The term gatschau, to pay, might be called the leitmotif of the Oleaf natives in their dealings with white people. Whoever pays well is a good man, and he who does not is bad. This is true of the natives of all ages.

A small birl, barely three years old, once saw a picture of a woman in one of my magazines. She asked me if it were my wife, and when I laughed and said that it was, she immediately asked, "mita gatschau?".

While the people of Jap often refuse payment, even for a large amount of work, with the words "pelnou olag (It is only an act of friendship)", and never demand payment outright with very few exceptions; the natives of Oleaf immediately counter a request with the question, "Do you have enough tobacco to pay for this?". If one wants to rent a canoe, it must be paid for; then payment is demanded for each of the natives who goes along, whether his presence is necessary or not, and finally every time a magical formula is used for a possible squall, far removed from the course, it must also be paid for.

I believe that this unpleasant trait in the character of the natives is a result of the poor example which white people so far have set to the natives. For the most part, they have come into contact only with traders and sailors, who in a sense were dependent on the natives and always demanded something from them. The natives themselves were always the givers, not the receivers. Added to this is the fact that there were many

drinkers, rough men, and other undesirable elements among the Europeans, which naturally did not increase the respect of the natives for white people.

12: Lutke--133-134
116, 152

(1828) 1835

Woleaians
Ifalik

They [AN: the natives] were distinguished from all the other Carolinians we had met heretofore, if not by their outer appearance, then by their noisy behavior. They all wanted to get on the ship; [134] and we had to use force to prevent it.

12: Lutke--134-135 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 152, 175 Ifalik

One impudent fellow seized a belaying-pin, and plunged with it into the sea. At that time the big chief of the group was on the boat; I told him that I should detain him on board until the stolen object had been returned. The old man was very frightened; but all the others remained calm, and promised me that the belaying-pin would be brought back instantly. And in fact, one of the chiefs found it on the canoes and brought it back, demanding an ax for the service he had just rendered. While all this was taking place, and while I was trying to reassure the old tamol by giving him some presents, another man repeated the same performance, and jumped in the water from the top of the stern. But after a few minutes the same chiefs forced him to restore the stolen object himself. For the sake of example, I was strongly tempted to give this rascal several lashes, but the poor devil was so frightened [135] that I let him go, and he fled in his canoe lest we change our minds.

12: Lutke--138
116, 152, 437

(1828) 1835

Woleaians
Woleai

The inhabitants of Ouleai had no more hesitancy about begging than the natives of Lukunor; the little boys were the worst, and when they saw that Doctor Mertens was collecting sea-shells they brought him all sorts of atrocities which they tried to sell. They tossed them on the ground if he refused to pay the price that they demanded.

12: Lutke--138-139 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 152, 177 Woleai

Far from hindering, the natives tried to help us. The only thing to which they [AN: the natives] objected was the firing of our hunters. At the beginning [139] they trembled and screamed at each shot, even in the distance, and begged us not to make so much noise; they soon became accustomed to it, however; and they finally cried ouai! each time they heard a gun.

12: Lutke--300 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 152, 175 Woleai

Among other natives, we met a tamol whom we had seen in the spring at Elato and he told us that the tamol Oralitaou, whom we had met at Guahan, had returned from there to his own country. During our absence the old Rooua had died; his brother Rooua-meun, who was now in Namourrek, had succeeded him. Tapeligar had gone to Fais and to Mogmog, and Aman to Farrollap.

Tapeligar assured us that after our departure he was so bored that he had started to travel, and that he had done so in the hope of finding me somewhere. He declared that when our ship had appeared, his wife had begged him with tears in her eyes to take her to capital Litské, for he would surely give her some lujeuche (pieces of glass, trinkets, etc.) Among the other Caroline natives we did not see such trickery which was clearly designed to make us give him presents. In general you see more envy and spite here than in the other places; if you give a gift to one you may be sure that all the others will ask for the same thing.

14: Born et al--568-570 (1907) 1907 Woleaians-1
152, 823 Woleai

[MR: During the typhoon of March, 1907] We soon left the Japanese station and betook ourselves to the most westerly canoe house of the village of Jaur, where a large part of the inhabitants of the island had gathered. The people had completely lost their heads. Like birds in a cage unable to find their way out, they ran aimlessly back and forth, anxiously listening to the roar of the surf. No efforts to encourage or console them did any good. All believed that the sinking of the islands had come and that the old prophecy would now be fulfilled that Oleai would one day be washed away by the sea. When the sea began to come further and further inland from the lagoon, we had to abandon this place, too. The Japanese traders appeared and reported that a wave coming from the interior of the island had washed away their trading station in a moment. So we had to withdraw into the interior of the northwestern point of Ifang. That was our last recourse. If the sea reached this part of the island too we were lost. Here there stood a house on a little knoll in which a large crowd of screaming, weeping natives had taken refuge. Some women were singing death laments in their distress. When a man suddenly announced that the sea was now coming also from the northeast out of the bush, the confusion reached its climax. I climbed a broken down coconut palm and saw the waves, like white cats, leaping through the woods from the northeast. When I came down from the tree the water was up to my hips. We provided ourselves with planks of wood and strong ropes and turned again to the lagoon side of the island. The water was fortunately rising slowly; the wind was weaker. Then we saw a mighty breadfruit tree which had been

wrenched from the ground with all its roots. We climbed up on these roots, which stood several meters high, and found ourselves relatively secure there. Scarcely had we found this place of refuge (it must have been about 9 in the morning) when the real typhoon set in from the east-southeast.

28: Spiro--79 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 535, 152, 183 Ifalik

"Towards the end of the rehearsal period the dances would assume the character of dress rehearsals, the men being highly decorated and ornamented, as they later were at the dance. On these dress rehearsals, a strange and interesting custom took place. The women would prepare marmar, and certain women would be designated to present the marmar to the men while they were dancing. The chosen women would appear, their entire bodies and heads being covered with cloths and blankets, so that their identity was not disclosed, and while the dance was in process, they would walk behind the dancers, and place marmars on their heads or necks. They would then disappear, so that the men did not know who they were. The reason for this custom is unknown. (35)"

"35. When I asked Tom for the reason, he replied that if the identity of the women were known, a woman who gave a wreath to some man would arouse her husbands anger or jealousy. This was specious reasoning, however, since all the men receive wreaths during the course of the evening, so that no favoritism is displayed. In other words, here, as in so many other occasions, we reached a point in explanation, where traditional explanations were really lacking, and gave way to personal speculation, as Malinowski has pointed out. When I pointed this out to Tom, he fell back to the well-worked musuwe, musuwe.[WPM: From before, from before]"

The adults do not explicitely threaten their children with castration, but they do so symbolically, by grabbing their penis'. (1)"

"1. I showed the boys and men a picture of a Melanesian circumcision ceremony, and they were all deeply shocked by the idea. That the idea is anxiety laden is shown by their reverting to it much later at certain time intervals, and asking me about it."

28: Spiro--125 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 831, 827, 152 Ifalik

"In either case it is agreed that the sex drive is very important, though not as important as the food drive, since the frustration of the latter results in death. Perhaps the intensity of their sex drive may be gaged by the statement of my informants that if middle aged married couples had intercourse every night, they would die."

28: Spiro--140 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-3
116, 765, 152 Ifalik

"If the person dies in the early part of the day, the mourning is brief, and he is buried the same day. However, should he die in the late afternoon or evening, he is not buried until the next day, in which case the mourning lasts all night.

While the mourning is in process, friends and relatives are busy with the burial preparations. The corpse is painted red, and it is dressed in a new lavalava. The men who have brought rope are engaged in making a long rope-net, in which the body is to be wrapped.

The contrasting behavior of the mourners and of the others is very interesting. The mourners wail throughout this entire proceedings, and often get into a state of complete frenzy. This is praticularly true of the person's mothers and spouse. In the case of the man's death, mentioned above, the mother and wife beat their breasts and scratched their faces with such ferocity that they had to be restrained by some of the other women, who forcibly held their arms behind their backs. The others, however, seem little effected by the scene. It is true that the children are not permitted the usual run of the yard, and the young men inhibit their usual horseplay, but the solemnity that marks an American funeral, for example, is completely lacking. The men working on the rope-net seem quite gay, and joke as they work. The young children of the deceased seem unaware of the death of their parent, and continue to play and laugh, though the adults will periodically attempt to restrain any undue boisterousness.

This raises a serious psychological problem. Is the intense mourning of the immediate adult family of the deceased a genuine experience, or is it all 'culturally patterned'? Since I observed only three funerals, and the pattern in all three was the same, I tentatively adopted the hypothesis that both factors entered into the behavior, and my questioning of the people as well as other evidence seemed to indicate that the hypothesis had some degree of validity. My informants stated that all women, for example, express their mourning by tearing at their faces and breasts. Furthermore, if a woman did not do so, she would be criticized by the people as not showing sufficient love for the deceased. This would seem to indicate that the overt behavior itself is learned. But how about the private emotions of the mourners? The feeling, not the behavior, is the variable factor. There is evidence that indicates that the feeling, in some cases at least, is very intense. When Navor, died, her husband could not perform the culturally patterned wailing. He broke down completely and sobbed like a baby. Here we see complete personal disorganization so that the behavior becomes a pure expression of personal feeling, rather than becoming channeled in the cultural mode. In another instance, Arivimae, a young married man in his late twenties, burned the house of his dead mother, the day after her funeral, as an expression of his heated feelings. Unfortunately I did not observe his behavior during the funeral itself. But whether it was then culturally or

personally expressive, this extreme display of emotion indicates quite clearly the intensity of his feeling, since the practice of burning the house of the deceased is not practiced in this culture."